585 room, until he arrives for the test of her virginity. The groom "takes blood with his finger," wipes it on the white toga which his bride had been veiled with, and hands it to the older women waiting outside the tent. In the meantime, [792] the two fathers have met with the faqiih ("holy man") who [675] witnesses the agreement on the mahr payment. They read the Fatiha of the Quran together and conclude the marriage contract. The old women, carrying the toga with the virginal blood on it--a symbol of honor to both of the groups concerned with the marriage--parade around the guests' tent showing it, while all the time letting out shrill victory cries (zaghaariid = "trilling cries of joy"). The toga is then pinned-up on the side of the guests' tent for all to 585 see. Animals are slaughtered and the feast begins. The 574 central activity of the feast takes place in the guests' tent, the tent of the male guests. The groom's father, in [576] the traditional role of host, does not sit down to eat with his guests but directs the seating and feeding of them.

585 Should it happen that the girl is not a virgin, the 684 wedding would end on the spot, and the girl would be sent away or killed by her father. My informants said that this has never happened in al-Qasr. One key informant told me that such a thing never happens because the groom would never permit it to be known that "his cousin was not a virgin." In other words, the groom will get the blood from somewhere,

585 [684] probably by pricking himself, and will wipe it on the toga.

About two weeks after the wedding, the bride and groom take a lamb or a goat and go to spend a few days with the bride's parents. The Bedouin say that the relationship between the groom and his in-laws is extremely important. The man should treat his wife's mother and father as if they were his own. "When a man's father-in-law and mother-in-law come to visit him, he must slaughter a lamb for them. He must respect both of them. Remember, this man and woman are the grandparents of his children."

The marriage, then, is only the first step in the ritualization of new group bonds established between the families of the bride and groom. Bonds are subsequently intensified through a process of visitation, gift-exchange and sacrifice. The most important factor linking the two groups is the actual presence of the bride in the midst of her husband's group, for she remains, in terms of the patrilineal principle, a member of her father's lineage. This is made perfectly clear by the fact that she is referred to, never by her name but, by the name of her tribal grouping if she is other than 'Aishaibi. If she is of the 'Aishaibat tribe, she will be referred to as bint of so-and-so. Hence the Bedouins stress the importance of extra-group bonds by referring to the women in their residence group as al-Qinaishiyya or al-Kamailiyya, for instance (-iyya is the Arabic feminine marker).

562 593 554 182 578 in Bedouin society, that is, the role of wife-daughter. The principles of patrilineality and cognation do not work against each other when the girl marries outside her corporate group, nor does her new dual role present a case of role conflict.

562 593 554 182 578 *613 [431] [628] [574] On the contrary, the wife-daughter role functions to bind together two groups which are structurally differentiated by the rule of patrilineality. During time of peace, the wife-daughter acts as a bond-maker by carrying gifts back and forth between the two groups, often bringing some of her younger patrilineal relatives back to her husband's house or tent for short visits. During a time of conflict or war, the

562 593 554 [726] [584] Bedouins point out, she is the only person who can cross the battle lines unharmed. She is a match-maker as well as a peace-maker. Often she influences the selection of mates by individuals in both her husband's group and her father's

562 593 554 582 group. The Bedouins say that "after the bint 'amm, a man should marry his bint khal ("mother's brother's daughter") because she is like his bint 'amm." Usually, over a period of a few generations, a given direction in marriage is sustained (see Figure 10), and it is one function of this wife-daughter role to accomplish this important political action.

562 593 554 *613 182 The role of wife-daughter, then, may be seen as one important aspect of what Fortes (1953:33) calls, "complementary filiation," the essential mechanism which provides the link between the corporate groups of al-Qasr society and the kin groups of the parent who does not determine descent.

578 Hafiyan killed three members of the Zallat. This feud lasted
*613 over a period of 25 years. It happened one time that an
682 'aqila of 'Ailit Zallat was walking in the desert and stopped
578 for a visit at a naja', the owners of which he did not know.
•574 He soon discovered that "he was in front of the Hafiyan them-
*613 selves." He tried to conceal his own identity, intending to
682 eat the meal which they offered him and then escape in the dark. But the Hafiyan soon discovered that one from the Zallat was their guest. They told him that they would send men of their tribe with him to give him safe conduct through the desert. They also said that they wished to get together and make peace. Then they made peace, and its conditions were made through the 'awaaqil. No diiya was transferred because each had killed an equal number of men. Then members of the two groups lived together for two or three days and made a feast, they slaughtered sheep and the problem was over. This problem came to an end in 1938.

578 The next case, dealing with wounding, is presented in
682 the form of two documents. It is valuable for the way in
*613 which it illustrates the judicial process and ritual sanction.
[619] Note that in the first document the case seems to concern two primary segments, i.e., the 'Aishaibat and the Kamailat, but the second document, the "Day of Oath," clearly indicates that the parties involved are 'Ailit Ma'fas ('Aishaibat) and 'Ailit Mahatha (Kamailat), two secondary groups.

156 draw al-Qasr into the Egyptian political community. He has
159 committed himself to work hand-in-hand with the Governor of
554 Marsa Matruh in introducing changes connected with economics
177 and education into al-Qasr. He does not conceal this fact.
178 When I spoke with him about helping me with my study of
124 changing attitudes in al-Qasr, he said: "I might have the
829 time to do this, but before I decide you will have to bring
[571] me a letter from the Governor stating that he wishes me to
cooperate with you." The identity and responsibility which
Hajj 'Ali feels for his role of agent of change is indicated
in his remark to me that he had heard "there were others in
the desert who feel and think the way I myself do."

156 Hajj 'Ali is discretely aware of the status difference
159 between himself, as a member of the "status group," and the
554 others of al-Qasr. As Weber would say, he perceives the
571 difference in "style of life." I was invited to Hajj 'Ali's
574 house for 'iid al-fitr, the feast marking the end of Ramadan.
796 I thought that this would be a good opportunity to observe
123 the "leaders" of al-Qasr together. I was very much surprised
to find present no members of the "status group" but only
[556] their exact opposites. On the occasion of this feast it is
[735] the custom that the rich treat the poor. As an additional
surprise, we had a very simple meal of bread, dates, peanuts,
and tea. Hajj 'Ali explained to me: "My neighbors do not
have my economic advantages, and I do not think it is proper

156 to serve other than what they eat." Hajj 'Ali is not only
159 conscious of social stratification in his society, but he also
554 has a great deal of empathy with the less endowed, a pre-
571 requisite of a traditional Bedouin leader and an advantageous
574 one for a modern leader.
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123

He is aware of most traditional institutions and how
156 they relate to conditions of modernity. Hajj 'Ali, whose own
159 marriages speak for his political acumen, sees only disadvantages
554 in the cousin-right marriage custom of the Bedouins. His
829 interest in getting on with the business of change, so to
582 speak, has led him to question a basic right contained in the Bedouin principle of lineage structure and corporate membership.

> A thing which I do not like about our customs is the idea that a man has a right to his uncle's daughter. The man binds his cousin and in the end he might not marry her and will be the cause of her never marrying. He gives himself the authority to decide whom she may or may not marry. If he knows she desires to marry a certain man, he says: "She can marry anyone but not that one."

[562] Here he challenges the traditional right of the individual male in Bedouin society, favoring the rights of the female.

[177] The emancipation of the female, especially in rights and
[178] duties concerned with the marriage contract, is an element
[562] of the modernization process in Egyptian society and the Middle East in general.

* 613 The bait, as a political group, is in part structurally
602 defined by the corporate principle which states that blood-kin
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imply that one cannot be educated and know the 'awaiyid at the same time--the attitude of a self-made man. Hajj 'Ali realizes his marginal position between the new and the old, and his attitude concerning change through education seems to be that of an unselfish leader. Elaborating further on the role of education, Hajj 'Ali showed insight into some of the psychological aspects underlying social change:

> As I said before, the people here are realistic about change. There are now only about three or four of us who send our sons to study at the university, the rest of the people are waiting to see what these boys will amount to. The other day, one of our educated boys, an officer in the army, came to visit al-Qasr. All of the women are now hoping to see their sons become as successful as this. This is exactly like the first time we cultivated olives in the desert: the Bedouins mocked those who planted the olive. After the olive began to show profits, everyone regretted that they did not cultivate it. Time is changing, and the people are changing. Education is the basis of everything in any nation. Now the agricultural engineer directs me, telling me what to do and how to do it . . . and before 1952 (pre-Nassar regime) they knew nothing about us and we had nothing.

As culture and social change proceeds in al-Qasr, it is evident that Hajj 'Ali and the national political community are becoming legitimate authorities in the eyes of the Bedouins. This is indicated by the following event. One month before I left the field, the first vice-President of the Republic was expected to visit the province of Marsa Matruh, and al-Qasr was named as one of the places which he would tour. Hajj 'Ali took it upon himself to set up three tents in the tradi-

156 tional style of Bedouin hospitality--"as we used to do in
159 Cyrenaica"--and spent a total of 50 L.E. for the welcoming
554 ceremony. "This money was from his own pocket," as the
829 Bedouins of al-Qasr complained after it was learned that
574 the vice-President would not visit Matruh after all. As
648 a matter of fact, all of the Bedouin leaders who had been
invited to the reception by Hajj 'Ali refused to eat the
food, for they said that it had not been prepared for them.
[576] This act was taken as a show of respect for Hajj 'Ali and
anger with bureaucrats.

156 Hajj 'Ali is the representative of al-Qasr to the
159 Arab Socialist Union which meets in Marsa Matruh and has
554 cell meetings in al-Qasr. The socialist cell in al-Qasr
648 meets about three times a month. When I asked why Hajj 'Ali
668 was the man chosen to represent all of al-Qasr at section
[124] meetings of the Union, the reply was: "Because he is a member
[635] of the Majlis al-Muhafza." There was one section meeting
of the Union in Matruh while I was in the field. The theme
of the meeting was "The Meaning of Socialism." Hajj 'Ali
attended this meeting.

156 In sum, it seems not too far afield to say that Hajj
159 'Ali is prepared to take over the leadership of the Bedouins
554 in a much more sophisticated manner than one could possibly
expect from the traditional style of politics. Hajj 'Ali's
[634] comments about the 'umda and the 'umda's probable successor

had started in the area at that time. No special permission was required for the newcomer to join the camp. He only got the permission of the person whose tent was at the far end of the camp to put his tent next to it. The first night after the man joined the camp, his next door neighbor slaughtered a goat in honor of the new member and invited all members of the camp.

Leaving the camp also does not require any permission, although the custom specifies that before one leaves he should inform either his neighbor or the headman of his time of departure. With the exception of cases where the headman of a particular camp is at the same time the Aqila of the bait, the headman of the camp has no authority over the members of the camp. He is usually called upon to solve minor problems between brothers or husband and wife, or give his opinion in decisions of minor importance. "A headman is like a father," said one informant, "we call him kabir el-nagi (the old man of the camp)." When a member of the nagei is involved in a serious dispute with another, the one to handle the case is the aqila or awaqil to whom the two disputing parties belong.

Group	Leadership	Identifying aspects
Kabila	None	Client groups attached.
Eila	None	Vengeance group, Vaguely defined tribal land ("watan").
Bait	Aqila	Corporate land-holding. Formally recognized leadership.
Nagei	Headman	Residential unit with unsegmented structure.

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[196] to Qudura and to tell him that Hakim wanted to show his respect. This means in everyday parlance that Hakim was willing to pay him money. Qudura agreed to meet Hakim the following day.

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[574] On the day of the meeting, to which I was invited, Hakim arrived with his son and gifts of three goats, tea and sugar. One of the goats was slaughtered and supper was prepared for the guests. While the guests were eating, Hakim and Qudura disappeared inside one of the tents for more than an hour. When they finally joined the gathering, Hakim announced that he and Qudura were now brothers and that it was his fault that Qudura was angry because he had accused him of being stupid and misunderstanding the content of the message sent to him after the meeting of the Aggary awawil. "I admit," said Hakim, "that I might have meant at one time and probably said it to sheikh Qudura that I wanted him to be the Aqila of bait Asabei'. Now that I have admitted this, Sheikh Qudura should not have any grudges against me or my son." Then Qudura addressed the gathering and said, in a very cold and dry manner, "I am glad that Hakim has come to this senses and admitted his mistake." The gathering lasted for most of the evening, spent mostly in behind-the-scenes meetings involving Hakim, Qudura and different guests. Then as the last guest left, Shei'eb, who had been inside the tent throughtout the evening came out and said that Hakim was a fool and that Qudura had tricked him into admitting publicly that he had lied and that Qudura still refused to take the oath.

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[521] Qudura's stand created a strong reaction which affected almost all the tribal segments in the area. The case overshadowed any other event and was the main topic of discussion. The reaction was mixed, however.

593 As a girl in her father's household, the woman is under the direct authority of her father, who is responsible for her. When the father dies, this responsibility, as well as the authority, goes to her brother or her closest male kin in the order specified earlier. At marriage the [591] girl usually moves to live with her husband, and this subjects her to [606] his control and sometimes to that of his parents, if the couple lives with them. But the authority of the husband over his wife remains secondary to that of her father. The woman's membership in her father's 593 household does not cease with marriage, and the strength of her relations to her kin is maintained by their frequent visits to her new residence and by her occasional visits to them. This right of visitation 593 cannot be denied by the husband who not only has to allow such visits, 606 but is also required to treat members of his wife's family, especially her father, with great respect and hospitality. If the husband fails [586] to do so, the wife's father can order her to leave her husband and go back to his household with him.

This point is illustrated by the case of Muftah from the Esheibat tribe in the area of Matruh, whose older daughter is married to Hemeida from the Geneishat segment, which lives in the area of Fokah some 80 miles to the east of Matruh. One winter day in 1965, while passing near the area where his daughter lived, Muftah decided to pay her a visit. When he arrived, her husband was not at home; he was in the market in a nearby town selling sheep. When he came back late that evening, he greeted Muftah with the customary slaughter of a goat and invited the neighbors to the occasion. After dinner Muftah wanted to rest. It was a very hot night, so his son-in-law brought a rug and spread it outside the tent in the cool air. After that he retired to his tent where he spent the night inside.

593 spent the night inside. In the morning Muftah ordered his daughter to
574 pack her clothes because she was to leave with him. He refused to give
606 her husband any explanation as to why he was taking his daughter away.
586 The husband could not prevent him from taking her away because, as he said, "He is her father and has the right to take her away with him at any time."

When the wife did not return for two weeks, her husband went to her father's house to take her, but her father refused to let her go. Hemeida
593 then went to a religious man in the area and asked him to intervene in
574 the matter and see why Muftah had taken away his wife. He also asked him
606 to arrange a mi'ad with Muftah to discuss the matter.
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627 The religious man was selected in this case because he was a close
792 friend of Muftah and was believed to have influence over him. He was also known throughout the area to be fair and of sound opinion. It is important in the cases of disputes that the person selected as a mardi is known as a wise and fair man. It is only then that he is able to mediate between the two parties without being accused of taking sides.
792 The religious men, members of the Murabiteen tribes in the area, by their
619 relative position outside the formal tribal organization of the Sa'adi
627 tribes, are the most likely candidates for such activity. Yet, this is
554 not always the case. For this aspect of assumed impartiality is frequently balanced off by the fact that these religious men lack the support of a powerful tribal segment behind them. To be effective, the mardi has to be respected, not only for his personal qualities, but also for being a member of a respectable tribal segment whose power lends authority to the mardi's decision. This is not usually the case with the client
000 tribes of Murabiteen. Wealth in many cases is also considered an important

Wealth in many cases is also considered an important requirement for the selection of the mardi. This does not mean that religious men in the area have no role in dispute settlement, for they do. It simply means that the mardi is selected according to a number of criteria that vary from case to case, and that in some of these cases sound wisdom and fairness characteristic of religious men are not enough basis for their selection as mardis. This means that the religious men have no special mediatory role based on their religious nature alone. In certain cases religious men offer the best possibility for mediation; in others, a non-religious person might offer a better chance for settling the dispute. In cases of women seeking divorce from their husbands, the wealth of the mediator, more than anything else, seems to determine the selection of the man whom the woman asks to negotiate on her behalf, a point to which I will return later in the chapter.

The Mi'ad was held in the house of Muftah. Present at the mi'ad were Muftah, his son-in-law, Hemeida, the heads of households in Muftah's camp (one of them was his brother and the other five were members of different tribal segments), my driver (who was a member of the neighboring Sanagrah tribal segment), myself, and the religious man. After the tea was served, the religious man said that the discussion should start. He reminded the gathering that this case is a family one and should not develop into a larger dispute. "After all, the daughter's husband is a son, and the case is actually a misunderstanding between a father and a son and should be viewed in that context." Then he turned to Muftah and said that in that spirit he was asking him why he had taken his daughter away from her husband. Muftah said that he had taken his daughter away

Muftah said that he had taken his daughter away
593 to punish Hemeida for what he thought was disrespectful behavior. He
574 then proceeded to descirbe how Hemeida, after bringing the blanket out
606 for Muftah, went inside and spent the night with his wife, defying the
586 basic rule of not showing intimacy in the presence of older people,
627 especially the parents or parents-in-law. For, to show such intimacy
792 is a sign of disrespect. He demanded that Hemeida pay him "kabara"
888 for his injured pride. The term kabara refers to the adjective "kebir"
[681] (lit. respected or big man). Kabara is the fine paid for belittling
[558] someone by word or deed. Muftah insisted that he would not allow his daughter to return to her husband until Hemeida had paid that kabara. Hemeida conceded the fact that intimacy constitutes an insult; but he insisted that his action did not constitute an act of intimacy with his wife, but was a matter of convenience and necessity, since he had only
593 two blankets, and the only one left was that inside the tent. Muftah
574 became angry and started shouting at Hemeida, who, in turn, started
606 shouting back; it became impossible to follow what was being said.
586 The religious man interfered in the discussion, trying to stop the argu-
627 ment between Muftah and Hemeida. The others attending the mi'ad also
792 interfered. The religious man and two neighbors took Muftah outside
[578] the tent while Muftah's brother tried to calm Hemeida down. The other members of the group also calmed Hemeida, reminding him that he was the younger person and must be more tolerant of older people. They also reminded Hemeida that Muftah was his father-in-law and had the right to take his daughter away any time he chose. They urged him to "defeat the devil"
[681] and to apologize to his father-in-law and pay him kabara. He seemed convinced but insisted that all he was going to pay was five pounds and a goat. Muftahs brother and one of the neighbors then left the tent and

went to see Muftah and his company. Half an hour later the religious man came and took Hemeida aside and talked to him in a very low voice, then left the tent again. A few minutes more had passed; everyone returned to the tent; Muftah was not angry anymore. The religious man read the fatha, or the beginning sura of the Koraan, then said that the souls were now pure and that Hemeida was considered as a son of Muftah and that disagreements such as this should not alter the good relations between the two. He said that the devil had found his way into the souls of the two people, but now, thanks to God and the good people present, they both had come back to their senses. Hemeida then rose and went to where his father-in-law was sitting and shook hands with him. Then he handed the religious man ten pounds which the latter passed to Muftah and promised to send him a goat as a gift to his daughter. Muftah left the tent and went to the tent of the women. When he came back he announced that a goat had been slaughtered and that everyone was invited to eat. Everybody then left and Muftah promised to return his daughter to her husband the following day.

While the right of the father to take his daughter away from her husband constitutes a check on the authority of the latter and insures the wife good treatment by her husband and her in-laws, not infrequently that right has been invoked for personal or individual interest on the part of the woman's father or her closest male kin. Several cases have been cited in the area where the father or guardian had invoked the right to force the husband to concede to certain demands of the wife's guardian, even when the wife objected to those demands or disagreed with her guardian. One of these is the case of Mabroka who is married to a distant

593 606 559 586 [114] The case persisted for more than two months with no sign that either party was willing to give into the demands of the other. I left the area before any solution to the case was achieved.

584 578 606 Another relevant case is one which involved a dispute between Hassan Hassanein from the Sanagrah tribe and the father-in-law of his daughter who was also from the same tribe and who lived in the same area. The case started when Hassanein was visited by a friend from the [574] Sheibat tribe in Matruh, an old man of 60 or 70 years. During the night that this guest spent at Hassanein's house, they got to talking about marriage and the fact that although his guest was a wealthy and re- [595] spected man, he had only one wife. After a lengthy talk, it seemed that the old man was convinced that he should have a second wife and asked Hassanein if he knew of a suitable girl to marry. Hassanein sug- 584 gested his daughter's sister-in-law. Hassanein took the prospective 583 groom to the tent of his daughter's father-in-law and discussed the 578 matter with the father of the prospective bride who agreed to marry his 606 daughter to Hassanein's guest if he paid the sume of 200 pounds, in addition to slaughtering a number of goats and presenting him with the [999] appropriate presents. When the man agreed to the terms, the fatha was read to signify the agreement between the two parties. Hassanein left the man to spend the night in the camp of his future in-laws. In the morning the groom told the bride's father that he must go to nearby Alexandria to bring the money for the bride price. When he came back late that afternoon, he paid the money and set a date for the wedding the next Thursday and then left for Matruh to prepare for the arrival of the new wife.

584 578 606 686 Two days after the groom left, the bride's father (who is at the same time Hassanein's daughter's father-in-law) came to Hassanein and told him that the marriage was called off and that he should send a letter to the groom telling him the news. The reasons given by the [574] [576] bride's father were that the groom showed improper manners when he stayed overnight at the camp and that he followed the prospective bride to the water well to have a close look at her. He gave the money to Hassanein and asked him to return it to the man in Matruh. Hassanein was very disappointed and considered this an insult to him, since he was the mediator in that marriage, and insisted that the bride's father 584 go on with the marriage. When the latter refused, Hassanein went to his 578 daughter and ordered her to leave with him. Her husband was there and 606 could not refuse to let her go with her father, even when Hassanein 686 made it clear that her husband could not have her back unless his father 627 kept his agreement with Hassanein's guest. Elewah, the daughter's hus- 586 band, asked for a mi'ad to discuss the matter with his father-in-law. The mi'ad was held in Hassanein's house and was attended by Hassanein, his son-in-law, and two people from a different lineage, each selected by one of the disputing parties. Hassanein refused to give any reason for taking his daughter away from her husband except that he was exercising his rights. Eleway, on the other hand, insisted that Hassanein was not justified in his actions and that it was not right to punish him for something that his father did. The two representatives tried to calm both parties and to reach an agreement but were not successful. The mi'ad dissolved with Hassanein not only insisting on keeping his daughter, but also threatening to marry her to a rich man in the area. The case was not solved by the time I left the field.

586 183 554 511 The husband had a big herd by the standards of the tribe (600 sheep and goats). In addition, he also cultivated a large stretch of the fig land in the coastal area and was making good money. In other words, the husband could afford the standard of living the wife demanded. The other question that was discussed was the actions of the wife herself. She was the daughter of one of the wealthiest members of the same tribe as her husband; and according to the people who knew her, she was used to meat every day of the week. In other cases, similar demands by the wife to have a certain kind of food or to be clothed in certain kinds of material were considered as an intolerable situation, and the husband was justified in his divorcing her and had the right to retrieve his mahr. This was obvious in the case of one of my informants whose wife insisted that every time he went to Alexandria, he bring her silk material for a dress. Since the husband could not afford to meet her demands, her insistence was considered as grounds for the husband. The assessment of reasonableness on the part of the husband in his divorce action and therefore his right to the mahr paid is frequently influenced by the relative position of the husband and the wife's guardian in the social structure. An influential man who marries his daughter to a poor relative or nephew rarely has to return the mahr.

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586 562 Although women among Awlad Ali are not given the same legal right of divorcing the husband by pronouncing the "dismissal formula," they are given the right of certain customary procedures which in practice give them equal facilities for dissolving the marriage. This is known as the right of the woman to "throw herself." This means that the woman takes all her clothes and sometimes her children and goes to the dwelling of

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586 562 574 the man she chooses. She informs him before she enters his house that she is the wife of so and so and the daughter of so and so and that she is throwing herself on him to protect her from her husband with whom she no longer wishes to live. Like the right of refuge, the man cannot [778] refuse to let her in; and from this moment until her dispute with her husband is resolved, she is considered as his house guest and is entitled to all the hospitality a guest receives. If he refuses to extend that hospitality or refuses to take her in, she can ask for a mi'ad [629] [781] and is entitled to kabara from him. There has been no reported incidents in which a man refused that right to a woman. As soon as she settles down in the host's house, the latter takes immediate measures to find the husband and to convince him to let his wife go. In doing this, the man uses all the power of persuasion. The man selected for this purpose 586 562 574 554 [556] is usually a respected man who can put pressure upon the husband. Sometimes he has to bribe the husband to release the wife, paying from his own money. The man has to have money, not only to be able to support the wife during her stay in his house and to bribe the husband, but also because in certain instances he has to pay the husband the mahr that the father of the wife had taken in order to free her. The next step after getting the agreement of the husband to divorce his wife is to contact the father of the wife or her guardian and convince him to pay the mahr to the husband. If the father does not agree, or if he is financially unable to do so, the man on whom the woman has thrown herself is supposed to pay from his own money. In cases where the woman left the husband to be married to another man with whom she had had a relationship, the respected man tries to have the future husband pay the present husband the mahr he is supposed to pay the woman after she is divorced from her

husband. In a number of cases the husband was willing to divorce the woman after a promise by the man that she would pay him the mahr when she got married. In most cases, however, the process costs the man a considerable amount of money. Sometimes, when the woman is young and attractive, the man finds it to his advantage to keep her as his wife, since she will cost him no more expenses. On the other hand, the man cannot refuse a woman the right of refuge, since to do this or to deny her the right of hospitality will make him liable to pay kabara if she made the refusal known publicly. On the other hand, it is prestigious to be known in the area as a man to whom women go to be released from their husbands. In fact, a man who acquires a reputation of getting wives released is likely to be sought as mardi in other cases as well.

Due to the nature of his role in mediating, the woman must be careful in selecting the man over whom she throws herself. These considerations are manifested in the following case taken from my field notes. Hadia was forced by her father to marry a man from the same tribe who paid her father L.E. 100 as mahr. She did not want to marry him because she was in love with someone else of whom her father did not approve. One month after she was married, she left the tent and never came back. Later, she appeared in the house of Omda Ali, the chief of another tribe, and everyone knew that she had thrown herself on him. She later told me why she had selected Omda Ali and not the Omda of her own tribe. "Because my husband works for the Omda of my own tribe, and I thought he would be biased. Of course, I couldn't have gone to my father; he was the one who forced me to marry that man. Omda Ali is very respected and can support me... He is also rich and is known for releasing wives from their husbands." Omda Ali called the husband in and asked him to divorce

his wife. The husband agreed but insisted that she pay him L.E. 300 (this included the mahr and the marriage expenses). The Omda tried to reduce the amount but could not. He then tried to get the father to pay, but the father refused. He had to pay the husband L.E. 200 of his own money and promised that the rest would be paid when the woman remarried (it would be paid from the mahr). The husband divorced Haida. One week later she was married to her lover. I have no information about whether or not the 100 pounds was paid.

In another example, Sabha was forced by her father to marry her cousin (ibn 'amm). She could not live with him, so she threw herself on one of the holy men in the area. The holy man convinced the husband to divorce Sabha and then went to her father and convinced him to pay back the mahr to the husband, and the case was settled. People say that both the husband and the father agreed to the demands of the holy man because they were afraid of his supernatural curse. Sabha went back to her father's house.

It is obvious from these and similar cases that the success or failure of the procedure depends on the careful selection of the man on whom a woman throws herself. It is also apparent from the above examples that his right of refuge is resorted to only in cases where the woman cannot go to her father or to her closest kin to help her get a divorce because he is either unable or unwilling to help her. A father is unable to help if the husband is powerful or if he is the woman's ibn 'amm (father's brother's son) who has, according to the tribal law, the undisputed right to marry his bint 'amm (father's brother's daughter). The father is usually unwilling to help his daughter if he is the one

who forced her to marry the husband, or if she was cut off from the family for some reason or another.

From the frequency of women using this right in the area, it seems that no social disapproval is associated with it, nor is there a social stigma attached to women who throw themselves. They seem to find it as easy to find a husband as those women divorced voluntarily by their husbands or with the help of their fathers. In fact, as was mentioned earlier, many of them marry the rich men over whom they throw themselves. As to the amount of mahr paid for their subsequent marriages, the fact of throwing themselves does not seem to be a factor in determining the amount of mahr paid. In one of the cases, the woman threw herself on an 'aqila of one of the Geneishat tribe after her father refused to help her get a divorce from her husband who had married a second wife without first asking the first wife's permission. When the Geneishat member succeeded in convincing the husband to divorce his wife, the latter had no place to stay so remained in the house of her protector who acted as her guardian in place of her father who had refused to take her back in his home. While staying in the house of her protector, she got many marriage offers; one of the suitors offered a mahr of L.E. 4,000 ($10,000), one of the highest mahrs reported in the area. She agreed, and the marriage was affected. This mahr is about ten times the mahr she got for her first marriage. This procedure offers the woman a considerable guarantee of her marital rights. It also gives her, as far as the ability to dissolve the marriage, a status close to that of her husband. This relative equality is reflected is reflected in the lack of stigma associated with divorced

159 the relationship between her and her brothers.
562
428
593 Following her action and until the time of the study, they had never visited her and she had never visited them. Her husband took
[237] care of the herd; and the arrangement worked out all right until the
159 husband told Fatma one day that he was going to marry a second wife.
562 She refused, but he went ahead with the marriage without her consent.
593
595 He brought the new wife to live with Fatma in the same tin hut in which they were living. He started to pay more attention to the new wife and to neglect Fatma; whenever the latter complained, he beat her. Then, before one of the religious feasts, he sold two of Fatma's sheep and bought his new wife a dress and a silver bracelet. When Fatma objected
[164] and they argued, he hit her with a stick on the head; she was hospitalized for a week with a serious head wound. While in the hospital, she went to her brothers who lived only two miles away, but they refused to
159 come to her assistance. She then went to sheikh Elewa (the aqila of
562 Bait Asabei) and threw herself on him. He met with the husband and con-
594 vinced him to divorce Fatma. He kept forty sheep of Fatma's herd as com-
593 pensation for the mahr he had paid her and the marriage expenses, then
595 took his new wife and moved from Fatma's hut. Fatma then returned and
586 managed her financial affairs successfully herself. She managed the
159 store and hired a shepherd to take care of the sheep. At the time of
562 the present study she was respected by almost everybody in the area, in-
444 cluding members of the local administration. She is known to be reason-
[233] able and of sound opinion, and her store functions as the meeting place
[529] for many of the tribal mi'ads and for casual conversations. She is also
[521] considered as a liason between the tribal population in the area and the local government administration, and is respected by both sides.

000 own home." The following morning a Mi'ad was called for by the two
627 aqila who achieved the first settlement, and in it, Mahdi was re-
613
682 leased from his obligation to pay the bloodmoney, although he was
695 asked to pay the sum of fifty pounds to the widow of the deceased as a gesture of friendship.

CASE #6: The Case of the Careless Guest

574 The present case involved Ali from the Geneishat tribe who
682 lives in the desert town of Matruh where he has a general store. He goes on frequent visits to Alexandria to get supplies for his store. On one of these trips he passed by the camp of 'Awad from a different tribal segment. Hungry and tired, Ali decided to spend the night at the camp and continue his trip the following morning. He went to the first tent in the camp which happened to be that of 'Awad, who welcomed him and ordered his wife to prepare dinner for the guest. He then invited other members of the camp to have tea with the guest as a gesture of hospitality. When Ali sat down to eat, he took off his shoes, and put his rifle against a pile of rugs and blankets behind him. As the group was chatting, a goat belonging to one of the invited neighbors entered the tent where the men were sitting. Afraid that it might soil the carpets which he had put out for the guest, Awad chased the goat out of the tent. On its way out, the goat touched the guest's gun which fired, killing Hussein, the brother-in-law of one of the neighbors.

682 The local authorities were notified of the incident, but after
627 conducting a preliminary investigation, they filed the case as accidental death. The tribal proceedings continued, however. After

Although the weapon used was not lethal and therefore was classified as an unintentional killing, yet the nature of the crime and the obvious intention on the part of the killers made reduced payment difficult to achieve.

Another way of reducing liability and the amount of money paid in cases of unintentional killing is by taking into consideration all the intervening variables that contributed to the death of the victim and asking them to share the blame. The working of this principle is illustrated in the case of the broken rope where the rope was assigned half the responsibility for the death of the victim. It is also present in the case of the careless guest where the responsibility was divided three ways with the host paying one third, the owner of the gun paying another third, and the goat sharing the responsibility for the rest of the bloodmoney. It is interesting to note the difference in the responsibility to the owner of the gun in the above case and the owner of the rope in the case of the broken rope. The owner of the rope was not held responsible for the death caused by his rope, the same way the owner of the goat in the case of the careless guest was not held responsible for the actions of the animal. Both the goat and the rope are not dangerous things by themselves for which a certain degree of care in handling is required. If such normally harmless things cause injury or death to a person, the owner is not held responsible.

The situation is quite different in the case of the gun and the responsibility of its owner. By nature, the gun is a weapon of death, and for that reason the tribal law has required certain precautions in its use or handling. Among such precautions is the requirement that a guest,

as soon as he settles in the host's place, should unload the gun. In addition to reducing the possibility of the gun being accidentally fired and harming someone, this act expressed the trust of the guest in his host and signifies the ability of the latter to protect his guest against any harm. A person visiting another does not need his gun for protection and therefore must unload it. If the owner of the gun fails to take this customary precaution and leaves his gun loaded, and because of that failure the gun causes the death or injury of a person or even damage to property, the owner is held responsible for that result. The same rule applies to other deadly weapons, such as knives or daggers, as well as to animals which are dangerous by nature, such as dogs. Each tent in the area has a dog. Starting the first weeks in the puppy's life, he is trained to guard the tent and to bark at the approach of any stranger. It is also trained to attack any intruder who comes within fifty yards of the tent unless accompanied by a member of the tent. When one goes to visit another, he usually stays away from the tent until someone from the tent hears the dog barking and comes out to get the guest. Most dogs would not attack a person as long as he is the safe fifty yards away from the tent. Occasionally, a dog goes behond the safe distance and b ites an individual passing by or a guest waiting to be let inside the tent. If the injured person is able to prove, usually by taking the oath, that he was more than fifty yards away from the tent at the time he was attacked by the dog, the dog's owner is liable to the victim for the injury inflicted by the dog. If, on the other hand, evidence shows that the victim was bitten by the dog while being less than fifty yards away from the tent, then there is no responsibility on the part of the dog's

105 On the other hand, there is always a feeling of rivalry and hostility
598 between the different tribal segments which goes back to the era of
571 tribal warfare. Thus, the social relations among the tribal population are characterized by a certain amount of ambivalence which is hidden behind a facade of formality in the way tribal members treat one another
105 in day-to-day activities. There are certain rules of etiquette describ-
571 ing the way members of the same tribal segment should behave toward one
596 another and toward other tribesmen and outsiders. Failure to abide by
[584] these rules may subject the violator to a symbolic fine of a goat or a
574 sheep slaughtered for a feast to which everyone is invited. These feasts,
[182] or dinners as they are called, have various functions, the most important
105 of which is the integrative one. In an area where the population is usu-
571 ally dispersed, these dinners offer an opportunity to the tribesmen who
594 happen to be in the area at the time of the feast to attend, where they
182 eat, meet other tribesmen, and exchange information about what is happening in other parts of the area. It is from such dinners that the tribesmen get to know about the available pastures, about the prices of sheep and goats in different markets, and about who is doing what and where. The occasion also signifies the restoration of the violator of the rules to the social life of the group and the reinforcement of those rules.
105 This is also true with the tribal meetings, or mi'ad, which are held to
[62] announce settlements in more serious cases. It is on this basis that
182 the mi'ad should not be considered as a tribal court. It is more of a
[584] social occasion where food and drinks are served and where parties in-
574 volved and all those invited by them talk about everything except the
[89] dispute itself. In certain instances, the financial settlement agreed upon in the informal mediation is exaggerated when announced in the mi'ad

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

The figures for the free tribes include attached client groups, for the principal of which estimates are also given separately. The figures are taken from Col. De Agostini's monograph. The provenance of the chief Bedouin tribes of Tripolitania and of the fringes of Fazzan who are Sanusi, or sympathetic to the Sanusiya, is shown, likewise in relation to the distribution of Sanusiya lodges, on the map on page 52.

VI

Although there were in the past intertribal wars and feuds which have lasted into the present time, and in spite of the difference in status between free and client tribes, there were laws of the tents which gave every Bedouin the freedom of the whole country, and there was much coming and going between the tribes and exchange of hospitality, especially in the grazing grounds where sections with distinct territories on the plateau shared common pasturage to the south of it, and where the necessities of Bedouin life, watering at wells in transit, the crossing of another tribe's territory on the way to markets, the pursuit of straying camels, and the need to sow where rain fell, imposed a recognition of individual rights without regard to tribal affiliations or social status. Had it not been so, the Grand Sanusi could not have built on the tribal system his inclusive organization, for there would have been no foundations in culture, social structure, and sentiment, on which to build.

My inclinations as an anthropologist are to discuss at some length the tribal and kinship systems and the life of the tents, but I refrain from giving more than a bare outline of the tribal system, and I neglect altogether kinship and the life of the tents, because, however interesting detail about these matters might be to the ethnologist, a knowledge of them is, I think, unnecessary for an understanding of the development of the Sanusiya Order in Cyrenaica. I discuss the structure of the Cyrenaican tribe therefore only in so far as it is relevant to this general theme.[1]

Use of the term 'tribe' in Cyrenaica, even if it be restricted to the big free tribes, is always to some extent arbitrary for the political structure is highly segmentary. Nevertheless, though

[1] For a more general account see Savarese, op. cit., Pt. II, *passim*.

S: Peters E-S (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9 Cyrenaica

bers of an undivided group. It is erroneous to suppose that because the different orders of sections are homologous in their structural aspects they do not differ; they do, because the interests associated with the various orders are different.[1]

Collateral tertiary segments are associated with different tracts of territory. Each has its own watering rights as a group, and although groups may share a grain store, it is divided on group lines. Members of these different groups do not gather together in summer to form a single community, though at some of the very big watering points they are near each other. Social relationships between them are, however, intense. Visits are frequent. They meet to exchange news, or to inquire after the sick. They exchange greetings during the major festivals, and members of one group attend the funerals and weddings of the others, taking gifts. They also meet at the grain stores. Herdsmen, as they pursue straying animals, wander freely in their neighbours' territory. Relationships of this sort, some of them urgently necessary for survival, do not permit the feuding relationships to be described presently. Permanent hostility which characterizes the feud would seriously disrupt everyday economic activities, limit the pastoral movements of the Bedouin beyond endurance, and sever lines of communication which they always strive to keep open.

A homicide, when it involves two collateral tertiary groups must, therefore, be resolved quickly. This can be effected in two ways. Vengeance may be exacted immediately. This is always referred to as a vengeance killing or *thār*, and is to be distinguished from a superficially similar act within a tertiary group, since *thār* carries with it the implication that it is premeditated. A *thār* between two tertiary sections is considered to be the best way of settling the affair and, after an appropriate lapse of time, a peace meeting is held at which it is accepted that the killings have cancelled each other out. The deliberations at this meeting are followed by a meal at which all present 'eat around the one bowl'; the meal over, they all pray together. A life had been taken for a life and the way is now open for the restoration of normal peaceful relationships. Vengeance needs to be distinguished from feud, for while retaliatory killings provide the propulsive force in the feud a vengeance killing may be the means whereby a settlement of hostilities is made possible.

An end to hostilities may also be brought about by a promise to pay blood money or *diya*, and its acceptance by the victim's group. Arrangements for blood-money discussions are made by a category of persons known as *marabtin bi'l baraka*, or 'clients of the goodness', men who, by virtue of descent and origin, stand outside the descent lines of the noble tribes, and who are accredited with divine goodness. They tend the sick, write amulets, and are always present at a peace meeting to give it the weight of their baraka. Soon after the homicide has occurred they act as intermediaries to bring the hostile groups together at a peace meeting.[2] Ostensibly, the first part of the proceedings at these meetings is to settle the amount of the blood money, and how and when it is to be paid. Agreement on these counts will have been reached, however, before the large peace gathering is assembled, for there is a gener-

[1] This statement requires more documentation than I am able to give to it in this paper, but the descriptive details given hereafter give it some substance. See also Smith, 1936.

[2] It is necessary to add here that these clients do not assume coercive powers. They are granted the power to curse, but the curse that is feared is the curse of their dead when an oath is given at a saint's tomb. When they know that groups wish to make peace they assist as messengers in bringing people together, but they do not use their power to curse as a pressure.

Second, the fiction that nothing has happened, which characterises the father's behavior, does not cease with the termination of the celebrations. Each morning, soon after daybreak and before the camp is astir, the groom must leave his bride and repair to his father's tent to lie at his father's side "as he always had done in the past, as if he had not left him." This conventional ruse is followed, not just for the seven days of wedding festivities, but is continued after the groom has moved back into the camp proper, and pitched his tent alongside his father's, with the ropes of the two tents crossing.

In matters other than sleeping arrangements, this fiction that "nothing has happened" is maintained. Marriage does not mean the immediate creation of a wholly separate domestic unit. Save for the appearance of an additional tent, the ordinary run of daytime activities is scarcely altered. To mention perhaps the most important feature of the relationships between father and son, the groom continues to eat with his father. As yet, the son does not use his own bowl,[1] and may not, indeed, do so for several years. The important symbolism of "eating together" or "eating out of the one bowl," the act of commensality creating a bond of fellowship about which Robertson Smith[2] wrote so eloquently can only be referred to here in one of its many aspects. Bedouin themselves stress that eating together is a strong bond, and the communal meal is always used for this purpose after the settlement of a dispute, or at the conclusion of a blood-money agreement, and so on. It is significant also in the sense that those who partake of a meal accept the authority of the host; he becomes their protector, and a blow against one of them is struck at him also. Even if the guest is an enemy,[3] as long as he has eaten from another's bowl his life is safe.

The slaughter of an animal for another person creates a bond which has its roots in the intimate connection between man and his animals. In a very vivid way, the Bedouin view their animals as part of themselves, as part of their *Risiq*, their general wealth, in which their sons are included. It is this mystical association between a man and his animals which distinguishes a meal consisting of the meat of an animal slaughtered from ones' own flock or herd from a meal consisting of meat bought from a butcher's shop — often given by the plateau peoples of Northern Cyrenaica to their guests, but which the camel-herding Bedouin of the south regard as despicable hospitality. A slaughtered animal is the food, *par excellence*, which establishes this bond

[1] When Bedouin take their meals, they eat from large wooden bowls imported from south of the Sahara. It is a matter of custom that a man does not eat alone unless it is unavoidable, a custom of such strength, that, when, one day, only an elder, occupying a tent the ropes of which were crossed with mine, was left in camp, he brought his bowl into my tent "so that I will be eating with a man."

[2] William Robertson Smith. *The Religion of the Semites.* 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1927.

[3] A stranger entering a camp is under no obligation to give his identity. Few do so until they have partaken of a meal. In the past, the Bedouin claim, the period of anonymity could last for 40 days, but nowadays, they say they limit it to two only. I have known strangers enter a camp, receive entertainment, and leave without offering any specific identity.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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in position immediately anyone else appears at the entrance to the tent.[11] Women cook, but they do not serve the meal to males, nor are they responsible for the distribution of meat among them. Parts of an animal are carefully specified, and the various portions distributed at a meal carry with them a great deal of significance. A host can honour, flatter, disappoint or even insult his guest, depending on the precise distribution of meat he adopts. Designated portions should go to certain kinsmen if they are present, but this still leaves a wide margin of choice, and a host can use this choice as part of the many means at his disposal for directing his relationships with other men. A political link can be forged or another snapped by the distribution of portions of meat at the commensal meal.

The Bedouin Ideal Type of Family as a Unit of Production

This account of the division of labour is far from inclusive of all the tasks carried out. The details given are only barely sufficient to provide some indication of the necessary composition of a family. Referring again to the Bedouin sentiments about the matter, it is now possible to give it some numerical precision. The number of females should be a minimum of about three, including a mother, a teen-age daughter and a child of about eight years. Males should number about six: a father, relieved of most chores to act as director; a son in his middle to late twenties, to plough; a second son, in his early to middle twenties, to herd the camels; a third, in his late teens to early twenties, to shepherd the sheep; a fourth, middle to late teens, to look after the goats; and a younger son to fetch, carry and run errands about the camp. The family of the ordinary Bedouin, they say, shows this sex and age distribution, although they recognise that a politically ambitious man with the wealth to match his aspirations would require more of both sexes — particularly women, since the burden of entertainment increases rapidly with a man's climb to power and fame.

Clearly, the basis of Bedouin sentiment concerning family structure is its approximation to an ideal production unit. Some families display the features of this ideal, but even they enjoy the productive benefits of this composition for a very limited period only. The family, as described above, can only be an ephemeral unit, since the age structure constantly changes, women are removed by marriage, men move away and death affects it at any point at any time. The Bedouin family is a fiction in the sense that it can be said to have a characteristic composition. The mistake they make is to conceive of it as a particular kinship structure related to production. The substance of what has been referred to as a fiction is that, if viewed as a productive unit, it bears close consistency with reality. Freed of the need to examine it in terms of specifically limited kinship relationships, and no longer anchored to the inhabitants of a single tent, the distribution of people according to sex and

[11] This is the general rule. In practice, the use of the divider can indicate an intimacy or distance in relationships, most subtly.

would be impossible to satisfy all marriage expectations of men within the universe of the minimal tribal section. For this reason alone external links are inevitable and persistent. Also, the small territorial strip such a group claims as a homeland produces an economy which, in this environment, is unstable. Additional security is gained by making connections with other tribal sections, each with its specific ecological character. Men also marry into their client groups. The proportion of these for this camp was 9 per cent of the total. From these links they gain economic advantages, they can claim services and a client-following is politically significant. Finally, 7 per cent of the total[13] are marriages with women of other tribes, which again not only reduces the instability of the economy (in that a large tribal area suffering near-famine conditions has access to areas of markedly different ecology), but also provides political connections for men whose power ambitions have passed the point of leadership limited to their own tribes. In one way or another all these interests are manifest in the small camp and attention is now directed to the latter.

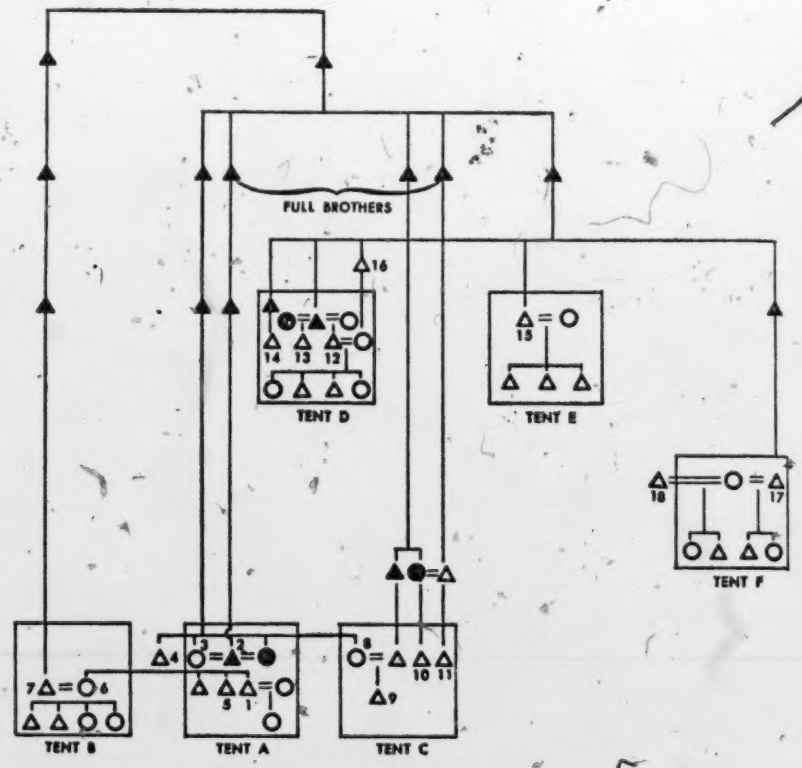
The disposition of people in the camp is represented diagrammatically on the page following.

The nucleus of the camp is Tent A. Its owner (1) was a powerful *Shaikh*, the son of a famous father. His marriage represents a political link with a group of one of the primary sections of his own tribe. His father died only a few years before I recorded my census, and the large amount of moveable property he left had still not been divided among the sons; the owner of the tent, as eldest brother, still controlled the flocks and herds. Most of his time he spent away from the camp engaging in political intrigue. His two younger brothers lived in his tent, but the second (5) would not remain there long because negotiations for his marriage had been started. His father (2) married a parallel cousin; she died and shortly afterwards he took her sister (3) in sororal union. When this occurred an amount of bride-wealth was agreed, but instead of giving any of it to her father, the entire amount was "put in front of her" (that is, the animals were allowed to remain with her husband's flock), and these animals she had marked with her brother's tribal sign to distinguish them from those of her husband. It was widely known that she was going to leave these animals to her husband's second son, for although she could not transfer them to a male outside her husband's corporate group, she could decide who, among his heirs, should inherit.

During my stay in this camp, her brother's son (4) came to it as a temporary resident for a month. Since he was poor, the purpose of his visit was to capture some of his aunt's wealth while she was still alive and the possibility still existed. During his stay he was fed well but did no work. His kinsmen found his company tiresome, so, to cut short his stay, and after consulting her nominated heir (5), she gave him three grown goats. Also when an occasion arose for an animal slaughter, she provided the sheep, and,

[13] The remainder is made up of marriages to the daughters of men incorporated into the lineages.

Cases



since meat is shared by all the people of the camp, her wealth was partly dispersed among her poorer kinsfolk.

The location of Tent B was determined by the fact that the wife (6) was the sister of (3) of Tent A. Her husband (7) had moved into the camp a few years earlier as a result of an inheritance quarrel with his elder who robbed him of his fair share. This husband (7) gained in two ways from the move. Although poor, he had a small flock of his own, too small to justify its own shepherd, but which he was permitted to include with his sister-in-law's (3) flock for shepherding. If the flock had been larger he would still have had difficulties, because, at some times of the year, save for short occasional visits to camp, the shepherd is with his sheep for several weeks, day and night. He (7) had three sons, still far too young to follow the sheep, but when they become of age to do so, his dependence on Tent A will cease, for then he can begin to gather the small flocks of other kinsmen around his own, his sons can shepherd them all and he can begin to enjoy the benefits to be derived from dependents. In addition, he enjoyed

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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621 592 571 [574]

the lavish generosity dispensed by the members of Tent A, and fed far better than would have been possible otherwise.

The location of Tent C was also determined by a link through women. The only female (8) living in this tent, a middle-aged widow, was the sister of (3) and (6) of Tents A and B respectively. Her teenage son lived with her. They possessed only a few sheep, which were put with the flock of Tent A for shepherding. The son (9) spent some of his time herding for Tent A. With the mother and her son in Tent C were two other kinsmen. One, a poor man (10), was this son's first patrilateral cousin, and they both were the only surviving sons of their respective fathers. He (10) was the main shepherd of Tent A. The third male (11), also poor and nearly blind, was a second patrilateral cousin of both, but his sister was also 11's mother. All occupants of Tent C were almost entirely supported by Tent A. Relieved of the necessity to live off their own resources, the two young men (9 and 10) were afforded the opportunity of building up their flocks for the day when they would be able to negotiate their delayed marriages.

621 613 592 571

Tents A, B and C sheltered men who were agnatically closely linked. More important, their grandfathers, three sons in a family of 19 children, were full brothers. The latter's mother's name was used when referring to these three tents as a group. During the past few years, many changes have occurred within it, and the death of the pivotal woman (3) of Tent A might well disperse this small cluster. Further, the nuptials of her heir (5) were anticipated, and this event, itself likely to precipitate division of his father's (2) wealth, might also lead to further residential rearrangements.

621 592 604 578 [582] [428] [583]

The owner of Tent D, (12), a man in his late thirties, son of a slave mother, was at loggerheads with his father's brother, much more senior in age. The owner's father, one of a family of 24 children, had been a wealthy man and died leaving a substantial herd and a large flock, but he (12) was bereft of most of this wealth by the father's brother. His first successful strike against his uncle was the demand he made for his daughter as a wife. Earlier, when (12) had demanded his father's wealth, his father's brother, who had for years acted as his guardian, replied, "It is in your stomach," (meaning that it had been expended on his upbringing). Later, after the marriage had taken place, when the uncle demanded payment of the bride-wealth his own words were thrown back at him, but this time with the meaning that the bride-wealth had already been paid. While I was resident in this area, the two men met occasionally: each meeting was hostile, for (12) was encouraging his half-brother (13) (also the son of a slave mother) to demand a second daughter as a wife. Included in this tent is a third adult male (14), virtually a pauper, reduced to this state by the same grasping father's brother. His link with (12) was their closeness of relationship (first paternal cousin), together with the fact that all three males (12, 13 and 14) had suffered privations and were allies against the common enemy, their father's brother.

[571]

Associated with them for the same reason, was the owner of Tent E (15).

Cases

621 592 578 [604] [428] [593] Genealogically he was their father's brother, but he was of their same age generation, and behaved as if he was their agnatic equal. Towards his own brother (16), he behaved as if the latter was his uncle, for he was much his junior in age and his uncle had virtually brought him up from boyhood. They had quarrelled bitterly because his brother (16) had given him only a fraction of his inheritance, which he himself, in turn, should have shared with his young full brother (not shown on the diagram) but he did not do so. This youngest brother left (15) for this reason and now resides with (16), his full brother's enemy. Two of the men (14 and 13) of this 621 592 group of four were the chief herdsmen of the camp, although they were [233] [571] assisted for short periods by (12) and (15), who also helped tend the camels in other ways. Their connection with the group centered on Tent A was a mutual close link to a politically powerful person (not shown on the genealogies) to whom they are deeply loyal and who, while I was among them, was actively opposed to the common political enemy of them all (16), and who in earlier years had challenged the leadership of (2) of Tent A. [613] [602] There is also the fact that they were all linked within a close range of agnation. This linkage included, too, the owner of Tent F (17), not in fact the descendant of the man shown in the diagram — he was the son of a slave wife; his genitor was a slave, but his mother's master reared him, freed him and he is now given as his son in the genealogy. He lives with his wife, of client origin, together with her children from a previous husband, (18), who divorced her, and his own children. Aging, he no longer acted as a regular herdsmen, but relieved other men in the camp, and also spent some time shepherding.

621 571 The details given of the strands which run through the camp to tie these particular people together are so few that, like the Bedouin plough, they do no more than scratch the surface, but they are sufficient to permit a few general statements. The camp, and particularly the precise disposition of 621 571 its tents, shows a group of males clustered together to share two of the main economic tasks: shepherding and herding. The physically strong adult males 233 462 of Tents D and E shoulder the burden of herding all the camels of the camp, and the men of Tents B, A and C shepherd all the sheep, with (17) of Tent F serving both purposes. This number of men allows some to remain in the camp at all times, to free one of them for a journey to the distant market when supplies of sugar and tea are necessary, and to enable one or two men, at short notice, to hurry away on horse or camel to search for lost animals.[14]

621 574 231 262 431 [356] **Economic Determinants of the General Structure of the Camp**

It is also clear from these details that, given the disparities in wealth (although all men have some wealth), the diet of most is considerably

[14] There is little point in seeking the lost animals themselves in the first instance. A man travels from camp to camp asking for information, and when he has gathered his clues, he searches a neighbourhood.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

ameliorated in its protein content, particularly by the generosity of the occupants of the nucleating Tent A. Not that they are the only ones who ever slaughter their animals for food. Others do so, albeit much less frequently. Whoever kills an animal, everyone present in the camp is given a share, and the men always eat in the tent of the donor, sitting around one bowl. Thus, the surplus that builds up at one point is redistributed among those suffering a shortage, and meat, in a society where the climate and way of life militate against its storage for more than a few days, is more efficiently used. Many other general economic points could be deduced. These general statements could, however, be made of practically any camp, whatever the specific differences.

Affinity and Matrilaterality in the Structure of the Camp

Economic considerations determine the general structure of these small camps, but do not account for the particular people gathered in them. Perhaps one of the most striking features of these camps, which comes out clearly in the one discussed here, is the confined agnatic span which links the males. Lest it be underestimated, I wish to stress the profound significance of this fact. While granting its importance it is equally necessary to stress that the span, potentially, could be considerably reduced; in some camps it is. Many of the closer agnates of the men of this camp are not shown on the genealogy included with the diagram; (7), (15) and (16), for example, all have brothers, (12) has a large number of first paternal cousins and so on. Therefore, this particular cluster of agnates formed for reasons other than agnatic ties. The most direct single thread connecting Tents A, B and C is that which runs through women. Men of many other camps are all linked in this way, directly. Five tents of this camp are connected through a female link to a common ancestress, whose name still defines the group, two ascending generations for one adult male, three from others and four from others. If greater elaboration could have been shown on the genealogy without confusion, additional links through women could have been demonstrated. Affinity and matrilaterality are the prime movers in bringing agnates together as neighbours.

Other Factors Affecting the Structure of the Camp

Other considerations narrow the area in choice of residence. The quest for power where every man entertains hope of achievement where ambitions are not stifled by the rigour of rank and a small amount of wealth provides a basis for a beginning is also a significant factor in considering the composition of camps. The generosity of the people in Tent A was not entirely altruistic. Justly, it had won them repute, but the repute itself was an important aspect of the political power they enjoyed. They also acquired the services of several men to manage their animals, an impossible strain for them alone. And with their shepherds and herdsmen they secured devoted followers. It was hinted in discussing the structure of the camp that changes